1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

882 882 [868] 743 [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

marriage, the two generations are the potential foster parents and either the foster father's or foster mother's parents; in the case of the preferred patrilocal marriage and the matrilocal marriage, the two generations are the young people to be married and one of their sets of parents. Our next task, then, is to establish which of these two generations was responsible for the decisions with which we are concerned. When we speak of the motives for adopting a child, are we speaking of the motives of the foster parents or of the foster grandparents? When we ask why a family decided upon a particular form of marriage, are we asking why the couple chose to marry in this way, or why their parents chose to arrange this kind of marriage for them? The answer depends on when during the past sixty years the decision took place. As a result of the various social and economic changes which have occurred in the past thirty years or so, the locus of authority for making decisions about marriage and adoption has undergone a basic change.

Forty years ago both the kind of marriage a young person made and the particular person he married were chosen by his parents. Except in the occasional family in which the young women were needed to work in the fields, unmarried women were not allowed out of the house except in the company of their mothers or grandmothers, and even then they did not often venture out of the seclusion of the family home. To do so would be something less than proper. One old woman gave us the following account of a young woman's life in Hsiachichou around the turn of the century.

*562
• 882
178

"Before women didn't go out of the house unless something really happened. One of our relatives who used to live here had a daughter and everyone knew they had a daughter, but no one had seen her. When there was that big flood and everyone was running for their lives, her older brother wrapped her in a blanket and carried her out. Even then they wouldn't let anyone see her. At that time buying and everything was done by the men. It wasn't like now when the women are the ones who take care of guests and do the marketing. The men who worked for the family were not allowed to go anywhere in the house. When they came back from work they had to go to their own rooms and stay there. If it was a big family there would be a separate room for them to eat in and to wash in. If they wanted water from the kitchen to take a bath in then it would be the men of the family who would come and get it for them. They couldn't come into kitchen. The women only did the housework and cooked. When it was about time to eat they would get all the food on the table and then go stay in the bedroom until all the men had finished eating. It wasn't very easy to even see a woman then. The only women you could see were old ladies."

*593
178
882

There was clearly little opportunity for romantic attachments to form, and even on those rare occasions when they did there was little chance for the young people to marry unless their preference happened to be their parents' preference as well. The authority of the parents over their sons and daughters was as nearly absolute when they were twenty as when they were two or three. The terms of filial piety provided a moral justification for unquestioned parental authority, and the importance of land in the economy gave parents the power to enforce this authority. There could be no prodigal sons because there was no place for the disaffected son to go. To earn a living one had to have access to land, and it was only through inheritance that such access could be achieved. It was the happy position of the parents of this time to have both morality and the economy on their side, and it was the unhappy fate of the young to be nothing more than sons and daughters,

It was inevitable that once the younger people gained some authority in the family they would revolt against their parents in the matter of marriage. As we have already seen, this process began in the early 1920 but it was not until the 1930 that the younger generation began to assert their independence in any degree. By this time the majority of the families in the village were dependent to some extent on a wage income, and since it was easier for a younger person to get a job, their voices were heard more and more often in family affairs. Even those families who were still primarily farm families could not answer the challenge of a son who threatened to leave the kê and support himself if the parents did not consent to his choice of a marriage partner. The high value which the older generation placed upon genealogical continuity and the realistic fear which they felt in facing old age without children began to work against them. The loss of an adult son was an irreparable loss, and parents were reluctant to risk it by opposing their children in the matter of marriage.

Perhaps of as much influence on the changing marriage patterns is the very fact that the freedom the young people gain by their wage work also gives them new opportunities to meet members of the opposite sex. Young men and women work together in the same factories, travel back and forth together on trains to their jobs without the company of their parents, and have some opportunity to meet together in private. There is, however, still nothing like the Western notion of freedom of contact between the sexes. A young woman seen talking to a strange man in public will be very much gossiped about, and only a few years ago

178 the local booligans took it upon themselves to severely beat a man seen
• 882 walking hand in hand with a village girl. Despite such reservations, however, there is now a good deal more contact between unmarried people than ever before. It is not uncommon and causes very little comment in the village to see groups of four or five young men and women walking together toward the local market town. Some of the young people from the village have even organized their own dancing parties without completely destroying their good names.

*584 In some cases parents still make the primary decisions regarding
*583 marriage, and in many more cases their opposition to a proposed match
128 is enough to prevent it. This is particularly true in the case of girls who do not, after all, have the position in the family that a son does, and remain under much more effective parental control. For the most part, however, the marriages that have taken place since 1940 have involved the principals in a much more active role. Of the 51 marriages that have taken place in this period, 24 (47 percent) have been completely arranged by the young people, and the great majority of those that have not been completely the couple's doing have taken place only after their approval was given. In some cases, particularly with the young men, the parental choice resulted from their own abrogation of their new "rights". In the case of the girls, the exceptions belong primarily to a particular type of marriage in which the parents are forced by the circumstances of their situation to retain their authority and use every technique in their power to arrange the
128 marriage they consider best. We will discuss these exceptions in more
178
*584

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

was going to beat him up, too. Besides that Lau Kim-chiok had a husband then. He wasn't home that night, but my uncle had to hurry and get a man to fix the window before morning or she would have been in trouble. This woman! How can she cause so much trouble and be so jealous. You know Lim Li-kui often used to come to play mah-jong with my uncle's friends and when her daughter [a prostitute] was home, she would come along to watch. Even this made my aunt mad so now Lim Li-kui won't come anymore."

Later in the afternoon, A-bok talked about his younger brother, Masa. "My uncle says Masa is just in the pharmacy to learn. My mother went to ask him for some money, and he told her, 'You know I would send home money if I had it. Uncle gave me enough money to buy a towel, some soap, and a tooth brush. I have no money at all. I was going to come home and ask you for some.' Masa is not a child now. How can you not give him money to spend on himself? If he asks my uncle for money, he gets at most NT$5. What can you do with that? Masa is nearly grown up. You cannot expect him to come and beg for a few pennies every day. I don't blame him for wanting to go outside to work. He hates farm work. Even last year he wanted to go outside to work, and I had to ask his friends to help me talk him into staying in the village. Masa says he gets angry every time he looks at this family. I had to beg him to pity his older brother working all day long like a buffalo in the fields. It is only to help me that he stayed. But later, he had no money to spend so he wouldn't work. I tried to explain to him that things were different now and that it isn't like when grandfather was alive. I was just like Masa at that age. My grandfather always knew what was wrong when I didn't want to work, and he'd give me some money to spend on myself. Young men don't want to work and have no fun. My grandfather knew how to keep me working. But really the times are different too. Now if you want to run a business, it isn't as easy as it was." A-bok was obviously thinking of his uncle's side of the story here and of the fact that his problems are different from the grandfather's problems. "Look how many of the companies that were really big then have just disappeared now. For people like us, it is better to keep the land. It is security.

"But I don't blame Masa for being angry. When he was a schoolboy, the work he would have to do was all decided before he even got home from school: where the buffalo had to be taken to graze, what field had to be weeded, and so on. It wasn't like it is now for Kim-hok

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

throwing a rice bowl at her, her response was, "Now Mother [i.e., mother-in-law] will think I broke another one." She sings at her work and stops working whenever her mother-in-law goes out the door. She has learned, no doubt painfully, to be cautious in what she says to "outsiders," and her loyalty to the family into which she has married is strong and sincere. She nonetheless joins in with great glee when her mother-in-law stages a carefully timed description of the discrepancies which exist between the two halves of the family.

I can't help but wonder how grim old Lim Han-ci would have reacted to the small terror that is A-bok's son. Although only three years old, he picks fights (and often wins them) with children twice his size. He curses his mother at will, leaving her speechless. His temper is frightening to behold. One night when A-ki was trying to give him a bath, and he was trying to avoid it, he slapped her full in the face and said, "If you touch me, I'll have my father beat you to death." One afternoon he spent half an hour constructing a precarious pile of junk under our office window to provide a comfortable platform from which to observe us. His mother came by and ordered him down. Without even turning, he arrogantly told her, "Go away and don't bother me." There is an undefinable flair to his naughtiness that confuses his mother, makes his dour grandmother smile, and his father laugh outright. Even Lim Chieng-cua watches with amusement when this small boy, stick in hand, orders the whole lot of them off his playing field.

Lim Hue-lieng's youngest son, Masa, is the rebel of the family now, but unlike his father and his older brother there is no strong, compelling male personality in the family to bring his rebellion to a crisis. He hates the smothering life of the big family and the closed society of the village, and more than anything he hates the hard life of a farmer. He once told me that he thought his brother should not have married "because his wife has to work too hard." With complete seriousness he added, "If my girl saw all the work my brother's wife has to do, she would run away and never talk to me again." His earnest desire is to get a white-collar job that will take him out of the village forever, but his age is against him. Until he has completed the compulsory military training which he is still too young to begin, no one will hire him. So he lives in a limbo with the other young men his age, a limbo that seems designed to turn their young energy into trouble. He is the unquestioned leader of a large gang of young men, but

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

On the day I watched the annual fire-walking—an awesome ceremony in which barefoot men in a state of possession carry the images of the gods across a bed of hot coals—I saw Masa stop for a moment on his way to Tapu to look at the proceedings. I asked him later if he thought the gods had really entered the bearers' bodies and if not, why they acted so strangely. He laughed at me and at the whole affair and said the men looked to him like they were dancing "rock and roll"—for all he knew, they were practicing their dance steps.

Instead of remonstrating with Masa over the rather frivolous life he leads, A-pou and A-bok feel very sorry for him. Although A-bok has some understanding of his uncle's problems, his mother does not, and she assumes that if his uncle wanted, he could find a good paying job for Masa that would provide him with the kind of future he desires. Neither his mother nor his brother make any attempt to interest Masa in farming or confess to any hope that he will stay in the village. They act as if he had no responsibility to the family and is indeed only their pampered guest. His life and his grandfather's overlapped too briefly for the old man to leave his stamp. Masa resents his uncle's management of the family, but instead of urging his brother to divide the household, he rejects the whole system. The struggle within the family is to him but one more indication of what is wrong with the old ways.

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
369 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

87% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

562
867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are c educational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

882
769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the kung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

362 593 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were expected [861] to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child who threw a temper tantrum was ignored [584] Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain at home [434] Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male or female [882] Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during